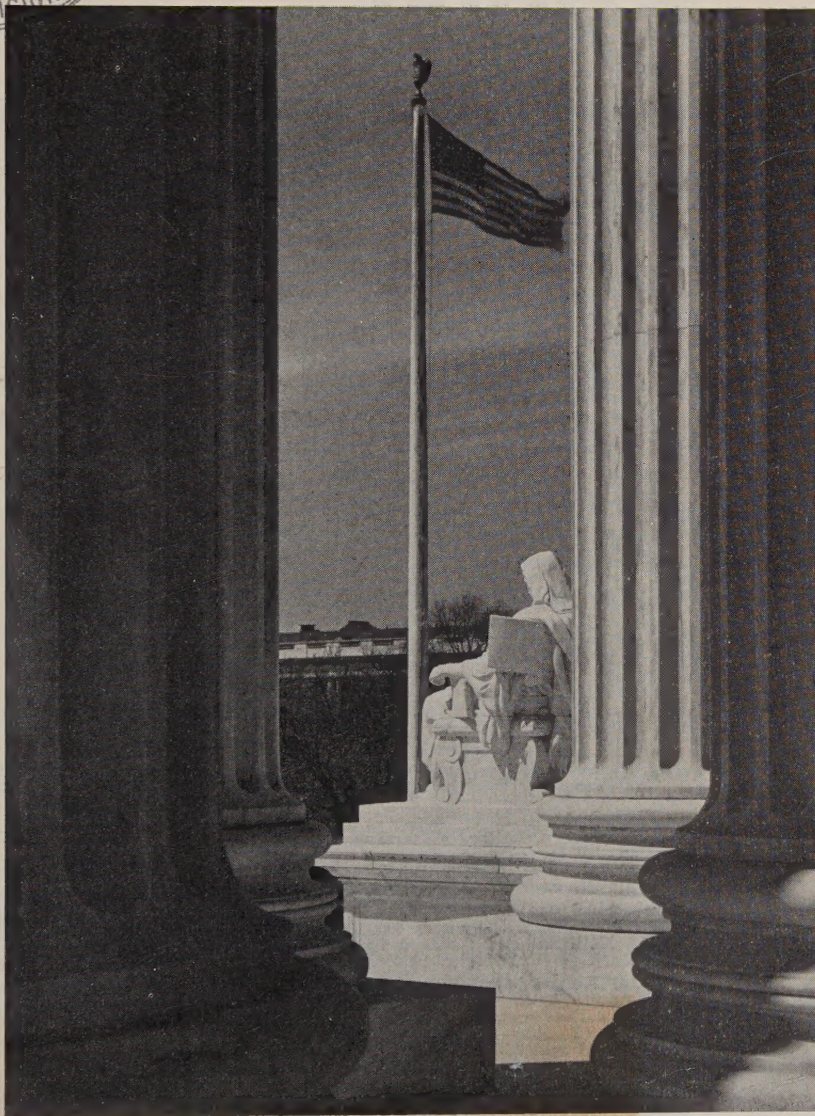


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# SOCIAL ACTION

BY EWING GALLOWAY

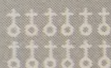


Christians and government

# SOCIAL ACTION

March 1958

## contents



- 5 ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT  
*By Donald C. Stone*
- 13 DEVELOP OUR NATURAL  
RESOURCES  
*By Senator Wayne Morse*
- 16 AID AND TRADE: THIS MUCH  
IS CLEAR!  
*By Herman F. Reissig*
- 20 THE JOB OF KEEPING  
INFORMED  
*By Arthur H. Darken*

### DEPARTMENTS

- Editorial, 3
- Book Reviews, 26
- Resources for Worship, 27
- Call to Action, 29
- Coming Events, 32

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• **Subscriptions**, \$2.00 per year; \$3.75 for two years; five or more yearly subscriptions to one address at \$1.50 each; single copies, 25c; 10 or more copies at 20c. Editorial and Subscription Offices, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York • Copyright, 1957 by the COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION.

• **Social Action** is published monthly except in June, July and August by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, which continues the work of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and of the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. *Chairman*, HENRY C. KOCH; *Vice-Chairman*, PERCY L. JULIAN; *Director*, RAY GIBBONS; *Associate Director*, HUBER F. KLEMMER; *International Relations*, HERMAN F. REISSIG; *Racial and Cultural Relations*, CHESTER L. MARCUS and GALEN R. WEAVER; *Field Secretary*, F. NELSEN SCHLEGEL; and *Publications*, FERN BABCOCK • OFFICES: 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York and 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio • *Publication Office*: 10th & Scull Streets, Lebanon, Pa. • Re-entered as second class matter August, 1957 at the Post Office at Lebanon, Pa., under the act of March 3, 1879.



**RESPONSIBLE, JUST GOVERNMENT** depends upon two major factors: the competence and integrity of its officials; and the interest and active participation of its citizens.

In the judgment of Dr. Donald C. Stone, in his article "Ethics in Government," the ethical practices of workers in the U.S. Government are higher than those in business. Favoritism, nepotism, and the giving and receiving of gifts, which are common practices in business, are open to public censure in government. While the competence and efficiency of government workers are high, too many well trained executives leave the government to enter private employment. *What's Ahead for Civil Service*, a Public Affairs Pamphlet reviewed on page 26, suggests that many of the most highly skilled young executives leave government service because the ceiling of \$16,000 per year for career employees is much lower than they can earn in private employment. It recommends higher salaries for executives and greater opportunity to move from one agency to another without loss in status.

**CHRISTIAN VOCATION**, or the heeding of God's call in our daily work, has profound meaning for many persons in government service. The churches have great responsibility to help all workers understand the nature of God's call to them to perform their daily tasks in accordance with his will; and to develop vocational fellowships where workers can bring Christian perspective to bear upon problems related to their occupations. Ten per cent of all civilian workers in the U.S.A. are employed by local, state, or federal government. Churches can give assistance to these workers and help to raise the quality of government service by enabling them to consider the nature of God's call to them, as government workers.

**THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENS** are manifold. Two tasks call for attention this spring: to pay our taxes with good will; and to share the burden of decision-making with our Congressmen.

**PAYING TAXES** is a civic virtue about which we have no option, but we can pay them grudgingly or with good will. Why do we groan and grumble as April fifteenth approaches? Do we really think that we pay too much for the goods and services we purchase collectively through the government? We pay individually for many of the goods and services which sustain and enrich our lives. But think of the many benefits that we pay for with our taxes: streets and roads upon which we can travel in comparative safety; agricultural research which has multiplied the productivity of our farms; inspection of water, food and drugs; schools and colleges; welfare services for children, the aged, the sick, the unemployed; foreign aid; national defense; and thousands of other services. Probably the amount of money spent for other services is too low in proportion to that spent for national defense. However, the tax dollar buys more in goods and services for ourselves and for our neighbors than most of the dollars we spend individually.

**CONGRESSMEN** carry a particularly heavy burden this spring as they make decisions on many issues facing the nation. Some of the questions which are of particular concern to Christians are listed in the department, "Call to Action," pages 29-31. Senator Morse calls our attention to the need for the development of our natural resources; and Mr. Herman F. Reissig describes the necessity of continuing technical aid to underdeveloped countries and of increasing foreign trade.

As our elected representatives, Congressmen have a right to know our best judgment on these questions. The first step for citizens is to get adequate information. Mr. Arthur Darken gives valuable suggestions for this process in the article "The Job of Keeping Informed." The second step for Christians is to consider the bearing of their faith upon these issues. This can be done through sermons, church meetings, neighborhood discussion groups and through individual study and prayer. The third step is to communicate our convictions to our representatives, which may be done by letters, telegrams, and personal conversation.



# ethics in government

with illustrations from U. S. foreign policy

**W**e talk a lot, and rightly so, about government by law. Man's basic relations with his fellowmen within a country or between countries need to be reduced to formal codification in the light of experience of what is necessary to protect individual and corporate rights, freedoms, and obligations. Otherwise justice and public service both become capricious, and society has no identifiable set of rules.

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By Donald C. Stone, Dean of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs of the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Stone has held several important posts with the Government and in education: he was formerly President of Springfield College; Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget of the U.S.A.; Director of Administration, Economic Cooperation Administration; and a member of numerous U.S. Delegations.

Responsible machinery for the enactment and enforcement of law is thus a first step in making democracy effective. The Greek city states were founded on what were then progressive concepts of democracy, but the Greeks were so individualistic that law making and enforcement never became a feature of their political system. That they survived so long as they did was a miracle.

In contrast, the Romans attached great importance to their legal and administrative systems. This gave a strength and stability to the Roman Empire which the Greeks never enjoyed. In modern times we can likewise appraise the democratic health and social strength of countries, including our own, which have developed governments based on law reflecting broadly shared concepts of equity, freedom, and individual responsibility.

When parliaments arose to dispute the arbitrary authority of kings and priests, we saw the beginning of political democracy. But not until responsible governmental administrations were staffed by personnel appointed on the basis of integrity and competence did government make democracy real.

### **Ethics of the public servant**

Too often we think there is something sacred about law as law. Now laws can be, and frequently are, stupid, capricious, and unjust. The reason is very simple: laws are enacted by men who are sometimes stupid, capricious, and unjust.

While in a political democracy we operate on the principle of government by law, government is conducted by men. Men elect representatives who enact the laws, and men elect or appoint administrators who carry out the laws. The ethical orientation, or personal "way of life," of both lawmakers and administrators determines whether the laws and their execution will meet essential ethical standards. The self-seeking, dishonest, dissipated citizen, politician, or administrator will produce government of the same quality. That community or nation which is torn by groups seeking to gain special advantage for their particular following regardless of the public interest will falter in times of stress. Democracy cannot long endure if its ethical foundation is corrupt.

Public morality has improved greatly during the last hundred years, and is subject to higher tests and demands by our

citizens as each year passes. Whoever talks about the good old days either doesn't know history or is deluding himself.

### Higher standards in public services than in business

I will go one step further. After many years of consultative and administrative work in city, state, and national, as well as international affairs, I have concluded that ethical standards in public business are higher than in private business. Many business men who take up posts in Washington have to develop a new set of business ethics. Nepotism, favoritism, purchases from friendly sources, special consideration, Christmas gifts, lush expense accounts, and many other practices are not accepted in the Federal Government. Incidentally, the experience of working in

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How then, does one present to young boys a life of public service? Not, I am sure, as an evangelist appealing to the young squires to turn their backs on the world and dedicate themselves to a sort of secular order for ministering to the peasants. . . . Rather, I think, one educates them to know the world in which they live; to understand that government will go on whether they take part in it or not; that command is too important to be entrusted to the ignorant, even though they may be well-meaning and dedicated, and to an understanding of the good life, of happiness as the Greeks saw it, of the joy of exercising vital powers in a life affording them scope, of the limitless scope of governmental responsibilities.—DEAN G. ACHESON.

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government is having a good influence on the ethics of business men. Public officials probably are no different from other people in being perverted by self-centered attitudes. Nevertheless, as a group they are, in my judgment, more devoted to public than to individual purposes and are less materialistic than most other groups in the population.

The conclusion I would like to draw is that any predilection among officials to flattery, any passion for publicity, or any inclination to personal, as contrasted with institutional, success is particularly serious on the part of public officials because it destroys perspective and sterilizes their usefulness as leaders in

affairs which affect everybody. We need not dwell, however, on the importance of honest and devoted public servants. That should be an elementary expectation. Rather it is the need for both citizens and public servants to test every public policy and act by those same ethical criteria which they would apply to their individual acts when functioning ethically.

### **Biblical teaching on the state**

In searching the Bible for its teaching on the state one finds some significant principles: the state should be founded on justice; its primary function is the enactment of just and equitable laws; it is instituted by God, and in the fulfillment of its mission it should be the agent and organized expression of his character and purpose; the state, like the individual, should be judged by divine standards of righteousness and justice; law-makers and judges are God's servants charged with bringing to all the people the blessings of just, efficient, and humane government; civil rulers as well as nations are accountable for their acts.

These ideas have been reiterated over the centuries. I find no indication of variance between God's moral law and the government of nations. Government should be just, honest, and conscientious in recognizing the rights of citizens and of other states; it should promote the public good. Responsible government reflects the collective morality of its citizens.

### **Justice or love in public administration?**

The highest individual ethic is love—love which is outpouring, compassionate, and selfless. It could be argued that such love cannot be a standard of performance in an institution, and that the relevant ethic in government should be justice—the equal treatment of all citizens.

There is more here than meets the eye. Government in a mature society is especially concerned with the health, education, economic prosperity, and social well-being of people. While protection and maintenance of rights and freedom are basic, they are, at the state and local level, overshadowed by these welfare and service functions. In respect to these functions, is not a higher ethic than elementary justice applicable?

Lawmakers and administrators in the discharge of their

functions surely must conform to a deep concern for people as people. They may not exercise latitude in their official as in their private capacities, nor may they permit individual acts of compassion to negate policies and practices essential to the impartial conduct of public service. But they can and should design these policies and practices from as high an ethical perspective as the collective moral climate will permit. Administration can be warm, solicitous, and relevant to particular needs. Too often it is unnecessarily cold, callous, cautious. Here we see a reflection of the personalities of public servants, not a requisite of governmental process.

At best, life is a compromise between the perfection of human relationships in spiritual fellowship, and the necessity of living in a secular and imperfect world. Is not the problem, therefore, the extent to which imperfections in human behavior prevent application of the highest ethical and moral standards to government, rather than whether the standards apply?

### **Ethics of war**

The United States has fought two global wars within the past forty years. We have built up a vast military establishment, a stockpile of atomic weapons, and are now frantically developing missiles and counter missiles. Another war would mean incalculable destruction of human life, perhaps wiping out most of the human race in a few days. The settlement of controversies by use of force, quite aside from the taking of human life, is patently evil. Do we have, then, a moral justification for our present military policy?

Throughout the Old Testament the ideal of peace was unfolded, and wars of aggression prompted by pride, ambition, and greed, were denounced. The prophets described the collapse of one kingdom after another as the result of ambition, corruption, and degeneracy. War was the end result of violating the moral law of God.

Christ stressed love, mercy, pureness of heart, and brotherhood as essential for the perfection of human relationships. Surely there is no room for war under the banner of such an ethic. Any war or aggressive act stemming from an evil impulse is obviously immoral. What about war in self defense? I shall comment on only one aspect of this vast subject.

The first function of a state—of government—is to survive. It can have no other function unless it fulfills this first one. History is studded with examples of peace-loving people who did not survive because they were overwhelmed by aggressive adventures of some predatory horde. Often nations which could have come to their aid stood by without helping a neighbor in need. "Neutrality" is the name we have given in modern times to this shirking of a collective concern or conscience.

On ethical grounds, I believe that government must protect its citizens both from assault from within and aggression from without. To provide internal protection, nations and communities enact laws, maintain police forces, and establish courts. Protection is no longer a matter of individual enforcement with its consequent degenerate acts. To be moral, enforcement of law requires corporate action.

### **Immorality of neutrality**

A policy of national self-sufficiency or of neutrality is immoral, as well as ineffective in maintaining peace and protecting citizens from external threat. It is a reflection of the principle of individual protection that characterized the era of the cave man.

Pacifists maintain that reliance on military force violates the law of God and produces a chain reaction of preparation for violence which inevitably results in violence. I see no persuasive answer to this argument, unless the primary policy of a nation is to establish collective security through international law and enforcement machinery. Since war with today's weapons can mean annihilation of the human race, the establishment of conditions which will assure peace must be the primary aim of any sincere and intelligent nation.

Widely differing degrees of political and social development among countries as well as an underdeveloped sense of moral responsibility require many compromises, but the real test of sincerity is the initiative a country takes in promoting collective action in political and economic as well as military affairs. Here the main roadblock to effective international machinery is blind adherence to the concept of sovereignty, a concept which prevents collective security and which gives a real freedom of action only to totalitarian regimes.

## **Rationale for foreign aid**

The Marshall Plan was founded on solid ethical concepts, and thus contained within it seeds of strength. Its principles of self-help and mutual help reflected universal and enduring values. Each country accepted responsibility for contributing what it could to the common good. The results were electrifying. Before the first shipment of U.S. commodities ever reached European shores, Western Europe had gained new hope and determination, and conditions began to improve.

As soon as the immediate threat of collapse had been stopped, we began to hear such statements as: "We are bankrupting the U.S.," "Europe should take care of itself," "Europeans aren't grateful," "We should concentrate on military assistance."

There were other assumptions: "Foreign countries should do what we want because our motives are good." "If we provide sufficient military assistance, we will be assured that other countries will fight for our common security." "Financial stability in a country assures national strength." "If we furnish technical assistance, disease, ignorance, and hunger can be eliminated and people will perforce become peace-loving, cooperative, and on our side." Such assumptions reflect a misunderstanding of human nature and the values underlying the motivations necessary for creating a strong, democratic society.

## **Self-interest replacing mutual aid**

The convincing ethic of mutual help and mutual benefit in our foreign programs has all but been lost. The main justification has become self-interest. We provide economic and military aid to save our skins, not because we have an embracing concern for the survival and welfare of all people. When the Soviet Union speaks softly, we are told that economic and technical assistance are no longer necessary. When the USSR barks loudly or threatens some weak country, the cry goes up: "Increase our assistance to that country."

Leaders in other countries aren't fooled. They read *The New York Times*. They see through our protestations of virtue, and know that we provide aid in our self-interest, not because we truly are concerned about people. What they cannot understand, however, is why we should expect them to be grateful for what we do in our self-interest. This view of our national

purposes is especially unhappy since the motivations which provide the deep groundswell of support for our foreign programs come from a sense of responsibility for our brothers wherever they may live and for doing whatever is within our power to make life more tolerable and secure for them. Churches and other organizations which work valiantly to establish support for these programs base their case on sound ethics. The end result is a double moral standard.

### **Behavior of delegates at conferences**

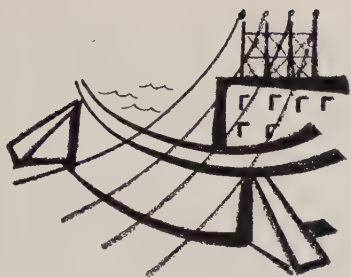
I have frequently observed that the personal ethics of a delegate at an international conference often have as much impact on a meeting as the character of his official instructions. In any event, the behavior of delegates at international meetings largely determines the spirit of the meeting and the ensuing results.

Many times I have noticed how an arrogant, insincere, and dissolute delegate who attempts to impose "his solution" on a meeting, engenders friction and dissension in the conference itself. When a delegate speaks, one is prone to read into his behavior the character of the country he represents. No matter how noble its purposes, a delegate of this type will betray them even though carrying out instructions to the letter.

On the other hand, a delegate who tries to see all points of view, who seeks the "right answer" rather than trying to impose his answer on the meeting, and who is fair-minded, intelligent, friendly, and humble in his approach, may electrify the whole gathering with his spirit and produce an environment in which agreement can be reached. Such persons are effective not only in advancing the aims of their country, but also in lifting the horizons and tone of the meetings in which they participate. They provide an indispensable, but unfortunately all too often lacking, ingredient in international negotiation, namely, moral leadership.

### **Conclusion**

In these random illustrations I have endeavored to show, first, that successful public policy must be grounded on solid ethical principles, and second, that those who formulate and administer our foreign programs must give more than lip service to the ideals of democracy and brotherhood.



# develop our natural resources

**F**or the past several years, too many people complacently have assumed that no matter how we ignore or mishandle basic national policy, issues will come right in the end. That dangerous misconception permitted great public issues—which are really moral issues—to be decided by the indifference of the majority and the active self-seeking of small groups with large financial stakes in the outcome.

Moral issues cannot be left undecided; the very failure to inquire and choose rationally between alternatives is a form of decision.

## **Waste of natural resources**

Our nation has been ignoring the wise use of the natural resources with which God has endowed us. We do so at our peril; we do so at the peril of posterity. Man cannot create resources. He can protect or develop them or he can waste and despoil them. Unfortunately, there is more waste than conservation.

It is a fact of nature that misuse of one resource is only the beginning of a chain reaction of damage. Upstream pollution by human and chemical waste, for example, can render water downstream unfit for human consumption and industrial use, contaminate and destroy commercial and sports fish runs, and prevent safe bathing and boating. *All* of these unfortunate results of pollution occur on the Potomac, which could and should be among the most beautiful and useful rivers in America.

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By Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, and a member  
of the Westmoreland Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.

Conversely, multiple benefits result from wise use and development of resources. The classical example is forestation. Adequate tree cover prevents erosion, captures and conserves water, evens stream flow thereby reducing flooding, and generally improves the utility of water.

### **Scarcity of water**

Water is getting scarce, not merely in the traditionally arid areas. Our most thickly settled regions are facing water shortages. At the same time many are subject to recurrent floods.

Population growth and concentration, new industrial uses, and more extensive irrigation are key factors in the creation of ever greater requirements for water. One shower bath can use up six to fourteen gallons of hot water alone—depending on one's habits. In an average industrial community the per capita use of water runs between 100 and 200 gallons a day. A single fire hose has a minimum requirement of 250 gallons a minute. Suburban Westchester in New York now uses 77 million gallons of water a day compared with 47 million gallons in 1943. The Great Plains drought has been a national tragedy. In Texas alone 244 counties out of a total of 254 counties were declared drought disaster areas last year.

Our sources of water are not keeping pace with our anticipated needs. Moreover, water for low cost electric power is a renewable resource whereas oil, coal, and atomic material are not. As we fail to harness water for all the economic power possible, we fail to use water wisely.

### **Needed: multipurpose conservation projects**

Hydroelectric power is one of the chief benefits of dams and water conservation projects. Such projects make financially feasible the flood control, irrigation, navigation, and recreation facilities associated with multipurpose dams. Without electric power, the flood control and irrigation features of the historic Grand Coulee project would not be possible.

Yet our precious natural resources remain underdeveloped. For example, a high federal dam at Hells Canyon would provide four times the water storage, twice the power at less than half the cost of the small dam plan of the Idaho Power Company. In addition, a dam at Hells Canyon would aid irrigation

and create a recreational wonderland. The Hells Canyon dam has been opposed by the narrow self-interest of a monopoly private utility and its political allies. Many people have been misled by slogans like "creeping socialism."

Yet low cost Hells Canyon power would mean new *private* industry, new *private* jobs and more tax revenue to all forms of government than the high cost, scarce power which would result from the Company scheme. Low cost power would make possible a whole new low cost fertilizer industry which would aid farmers throughout the West and Midwest.

A similar struggle is being waged concerning the Paradise Dam site in Montana. A proposed multipurpose federal dam built there would fully develop the potential of a great dam site with some 4,000,000 acre feet of water storage and 1,000,000 kilowatt capacity. The alternative proposed is for a small dam, built on a private "partnership" basis, with no usable water storage and only 120,000 kilowatt capacity. Multipurpose comprehensive planning and development are a necessity in the great Columbia and Missouri Basins, where floods and power shortages occur within months of each other. Other areas, such as New England, also stand in need of coordinated developments to meet the water shortage, for flood control, for lower cost power and even possibly for irrigation.

### **Responsibility of the Federal Government**

It seems clear that the Federal Government has a responsibility and that it alone can provide the unifying factor. This doesn't mean doing the *whole* job—but it does mean the *main* job of executing adequate plans and coordinating them. This means, as in the TVA and the Columbia River System, the operating control of the key multipurpose dams in the systems. Such a plan is quite compatible with small private or local projects which do not conflict with the basic system.

In a short time the U.S.A. will have a population of 200,000,000. The material needs—the resource needs—of so large a population will be enormous. The need for water, electric energy, and freedom from floods in more densely settled areas will be vast.

Upon how we plan today, upon how we conserve today, will depend the future of our nation.

# aid and trade:



**this much is clear!**

**O**n many aspects of United States foreign policy there is among Christians no clear consensus. Many members of our churches have signed petitions asking that the United States stop nuclear bomb testing but others are not sure this would be wise. Some Christians have no confidence at all in armaments as a means of preventing war. Others agree, reluctantly, that in the present situation unilateral disarmament would be a gamble we cannot afford to take. There are other points in this area on which earnest Christians divide—at least in degree of emphasis.

One thing, however, is, or ought to be, clear. Whatever the United States does or does not do about bomb testing, disarmament, negotiation of political disputes, *our country has a clear obligation to strengthen its program of foreign economic aid and to help increase the flow of world trade.* Other actions, such as removing barriers to international cultural exchange, seem equally indispensable. But, for the moment, let us think only of “aid and trade.”

## **The facts are in**

All the main facts about economic aid are now before us. No aspect of foreign policy has been more thoroughly and impar-



*Herman F. Reissig, International Relations Secretary of the Council for Christian Social Action, says that economic aid to underdeveloped countries and world trade are essential elements in the foreign policy of the U.S.A.*

tially investigated. In 1957, two Congressional committees made exhaustive studies. Two Presidential committees travelled many thousands of miles, listened to experts, gathered the facts. The final reports of all these groups run to a total of 60,000 printed pages. And on one main conclusion all the business men, educators, labor leaders, and politicians agree: *the money the United States has spent on foreign economic aid has not been wasted and the program should be continued.*

Benjamin F. Fairless, former chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation, was chairman of a special committee appointed by the President to study foreign aid. Says Mr. Fairless:

In regard to the overall foreign assistance program, we have not been "Uncle Sap." The world is at peace; economic progress is being made, and people abroad generally both respect and like us for what we have done.<sup>1</sup>

Clarence Randall is a former chairman of the board of the Inland Steel Company. Says Mr. Randall:

Business men often rail at the "give-away program," but I have yet to find a thoughtful member of the business community who

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<sup>1</sup> *Look* magazine, July 23, 1957.

does not come out with the conclusion that foreign economic assistance is a sound investment for the United States, once he has studied the facts and thought the matter through.<sup>2</sup>

It was on the basis of the investigations referred to that President Eisenhower spoke so emphatically in his January 9, 1958, address to Congress on the State of the Union. Said the President:

One great obstacle to the economic aid program in the past has been, not a rational argument against it on the merits, but a catchword: "Give-away program." The fact is that no investment we make in our own security can pay us greater dividends than necessary amounts of economic aid to friendly nations. This is no "give-away." Let's stick to facts! We cannot afford to have one of our most essential security programs shot down with a slogan!

It makes no sense whatever to spend additional billions on military strength to deter a potential danger, and then, by cutting aid and trade programs, let the world succumb to a present danger in economic guise.

The arguments quoted are based on foreign economic aid as indispensable to the security of the United States, which must be, for our political leaders, the main objective. But almost all persons and committees favoring foreign aid stress a second argument: the American people recognize that this rich country has a moral obligation to share some of its wealth and technical know-how with other nations, particularly the newer and underdeveloped countries, such as India.

It should, of course, be said that between the moral obligation argument and the security argument there is no real conflict, nor even, necessarily, a sharp difference. For to make America secure may well be one of the most direct and important ways to defend moral values. It is true that a national government is not a world relief agency. Nevertheless, since private business and other non-governmental agencies cannot, alone, provide the aid needed, most Americans—and certainly American Christians—will want their government to help them discharge some of our moral and humanitarian obligation, even if the national self-interest did not demand aid programs.

<sup>2</sup> *Saturday Evening Post*, June 22, 1957.

But have we not been giving, each year, "billions to help other people lead better lives"? No. we have not! Break down our 1956-'57 expenditures under the Mutual Security Program and this is what you get:

Direct military aid: \$2 billion—53% of the total.

Defense support: \$1 billion—31%.

Economic development assistance: \$250 million—7%.

Technical cooperation (Point Four): \$152 million—4%.

President's emergency fund for economic aid: \$100 million—3%.

Other: \$85 million—2%.

These figures show that only 11% of our foreign aid in 1956-'57 went for non-military programs. This represents only .6% of the U. S. budget of \$70 billion and less than .1% of the U. S. gross national product of about \$410 billion.

### **Increase world trade**

Increasing the flow of world trade is fully as important as economic aid. The President has asked for a five-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements legislation. This is a minimum needed action. The United States should join the Organization for Trade Cooperation—also recommended by the President.

### **What can you do?**

Let there be no mistake! There is real danger that the Congress in its current session will yield to the pressure of the short-sighted and selfish among us. Billions more for missiles! Less for economic aid! That, unless we bestir ourselves, may be the outcome.

Write letters to your newspaper! In your church, tell the story in sermons and forums! Write letters of encouragement to the President! See to it that your U. S. Senators know where you stand. Most important of all: let your Congressman know you support, not a smaller, but a larger program of economic aid. Our obligation is clear! Let's go to work!

### **Resource packet**

For further information on aid and trade write to the CCSA for its little packet of excellent materials (50 cents).

# the job of keeping informed

**E**ach year it seems more difficult to be a well informed citizen in face of the growing complexity of public issues. We are bombarded with endless facts and opinions by the daily press, radio, television, magazines, books, and the organizations to which we belong. This article is designed to help busy, harried citizens choose from the many that are available the best sources of information and interpretation.

In order to be informed one must receive a full and fair picture of at least the major political and economic developments. One must be able to see individual public events in a perspective that gives them meaning. Only then can one's political actions be responsible to his conscience and to the local and national community. Each publication, organization, or newscaster included here is widely recognized as meeting these standards of responsibility.

## NEWSPAPERS

### What a newspaper ought to do

To know how good a job the local newspaper is doing in keeping you informed, examine it by these four standards:

To provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning.

To be a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.

To give a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society.

To present and clarify the goals and values of the society.

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By Arthur H. Darken, a United States foreign policy analyst with the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. He is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, is currently completing work for his Ph.D. from Columbia University, and is an ordained minister of the American Baptist Convention.

These are the basic requirements for a responsible press as determined by the Commission on Freedom of the Press.<sup>1</sup> Very few American newspapers measure up to these standards, in the opinion of most students of public affairs.

### The New York Times

For many years the *New York Times*<sup>2</sup> has been regarded as the outstanding newspaper in America because of its thorough coverage of both national and international news. The Sunday *New York Times* is particularly useful. Its News of the Week in Review section presents the most complete and concise summary available, together with expert commentary, and a selection of the week's best political cartoons from around the world. In 1953 the *Times* was awarded a Special Citation Pulitzer Prize for having published this remarkable section for seventeen years. This, together with the Magazine and Book Review sections, makes the Sunday *Times* the most valuable source of fact and analysis available to the newspaper reader.

### Other good newspapers

There are, of course, a number of other responsible American newspapers. There can be no definitive list, for the quality of an individual newspaper may change. The most objective survey in recent years was conducted by Edward L. Bernay, a public relations consultant, among 416 publishers of daily newspapers.<sup>3</sup> The papers were rated on these three bases: reporting news fully and impartially, working for desirable social change, and serving as a forum for free discussion. According to the survey, the following are the top ten newspapers in the country, together with the percentage of publishers who considered them to be among the ten best:

1. <i>New York Times</i> .....	86%
2. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> .....	74%
3. <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> .....	41%

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<sup>1</sup> *A Free and Responsible Press*, University of Chicago, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Times*, 229 West 43rd St., New York 36, N. Y. Prices for delivery by mail, daily and Sunday: \$27.50 a year, or \$14.75 for 6 months; Sunday only, \$15.50 a year, or \$8.75 for 6 months. The *Times* is usually available at certain news stands in most American cities.

<sup>3</sup> *Editor and Publisher*, May 17, 1952.

4. <i>Louisville Courier Journal</i> .....	38%
5. <i>Kansas City Star</i> .....	36%
6. <i>New York Herald Tribune</i> .....	35%
7. <i>Chicago Daily News</i> .....	31%
8. <i>Washington Post and Times-Herald</i> .....	29%
9. <i>Baltimore Sun</i> .....	23%
10. <i>Milwaukee Journal</i> .....	21%

### **The editorial, the column, and the political cartoon**

The newspaper's editorial writers, columnists, and political cartoonists help readers understand the news by interpreting it and bringing to their attention significant facts they might otherwise miss. Most of them present a particular point of view and give the conclusions of the author or artist. It is, of course, better to read more than one opinion in trying to reach our own conclusions on the meaning of the news. In general, the best columns and political cartoons will be found in the leading newspapers, such as the ten listed above.

The authors of two columns deserve particular mention, because they have received the coveted Overseas Press Club award and because their columns are so widely syndicated. They are Walter Lippman, author of the column "Today and Tomorrow," and Joseph and Stewart Alsop, who collaborate on the column "Matter of Fact."

Two outstanding cartoonists whose work interprets perceptively the political scene are Herblock (Herbert L. Block) of the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* and Daniel Fitzpatrick of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The cartoons of both are widely reproduced and both have been awarded the Pulitzer Prize.

### **RADIO AND TV NEWSMEN**

The newscasters and commentators of radio and television constitute one of the major sources of news and insight. Many of the best commentators have received either the *George Foster Peabody Award* or the *Overseas Press Club Award*.<sup>1</sup> Investiga-

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<sup>1</sup> The *George Foster Peabody Award*, given by the School of Journalism of the University of Georgia, is awarded for outstanding work in radio and TV in fields such as entertainment, drama and news reporting. Usually there is one award each year in each field. Each year the Overseas Press Club grants six radio-TV awards, one in each of six categories of reporting and interpreting foreign news.

tion shows that these are the highest awards in the field of radio and TV news, though there are good men who have not yet received either one. Each person is listed alphabetically, under the name of his network, and with the awards he has received:

*American Broadcasting Company (ABC)*

Cecil Brown (Peabody, 1941; OPC, 1951, 1956)  
John Daly (Peabody, 1954, 1955, 1957; OPC, 1956)  
Quincy Howe (Peabody, 1956)  
Edward P. Morgan (Peabody, 1957)

*Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS)*

Charles Collingwood (Peabody, 1942)  
Bill Downs (OPC, 1950)  
Douglas Edwards (Peabody, 1955, 1956)  
Frank Kearns (OPC, 1957)  
Edward R. Murrow (Peabody, 1943, 1948, 1951, 1953; OPC, 1940, 1948, 1951, 1952, 1954, 1956)  
David Schoenbrun (OPC, 1956)  
Eric Sevareid (Peabody, 1949; OPC, 1956)  
Daniel Shorr (OPC, 1957)  
Howard K. Smith (OPC, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954)

*National Broadcasting Company (NBC)*

Martin Agronsky (Peabody, 1953)  
Henry Cassidy (OPC, 1949)  
Pauline Frederick (Peabody, 1955)  
Chet Huntley (Peabody, 1954)  
Irving R. Levine (OPC, 1957)

## **NEWSLETTERS**

The newsletter, though unfamiliar to many readers, is often more useful than a magazine on public affairs. The following ones are only a few of those that present excellent summaries of important news developments, commentaries on events of the day, and analyses geared to effective political action by citizens. All are non-partisan and have a broad interest in democratic values.

*Congressional Report*, published 8 or 9 times a year by the National Committee for an Effective Congress, 4 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. Available on request from the above address. A concise analysis of political trends, with emphasis upon Congress.

*Foreign Policy Bulletin*, published bi-weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.; \$4.00 per year. Brief articles on current foreign policy issues by leading scholars and statesmen, together with a bibliography and a Washington Newsletter feature.

*Information Service*, published bi-weekly, except during July and August, by the Bureau of Research and Survey, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.; \$3.50 per year.

*The National Voter*, published 12-14 times a year by the League of Women Voters of the U.S.A., 1026—17th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.; \$1.00 per year. Concise reports on domestic and foreign policy issues before Congress, together with program suggestions for local groups. Most state organizations of the League also publish newsletters related to issues before the state legislature. These are received on payment of dues to the particular state League of Women Voters chapter.

*Worldview*, published monthly by the Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y.; \$2.00 per year. A journal of ethics and foreign affairs, which replaces the *World Alliance News Letter*.

### BOOKS FOR BACKGROUND

The three books listed here are basic works that explore the main public issues facing American society today, how our political system operates, and the role of citizens in the making of national policy.

*The American People and Foreign Policy*, Gabriel A. Almond, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950, 269 pp. Best available work on the role of various parts of the American public in the foreign policy-making process.

*Ethics and United States Foreign Policy*, Ernest W. Lefever, New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1957, 199 pp., \$1.25. This book examines the diplomatic, military, economic, and psychological facets of U. S. foreign policy from the perspective of a "morally-concerned realist."

*National Issues*, Lester A. Sobel, Facts on File, Inc.: New York, 1956, 262 pp. A guide to the policies of the major American political parties. It explains in an objective way the origins and the arguments pro and con of major current domestic and international issues facing the U. S.

## MAGAZINES

The magazine *Social Action* and the five listed below are among the outstanding sources of background information and interpretation of the news:

*Atlantic Monthly*, 8 Arlington St., Boston 16, Mass.; \$7.50 per year.

*Christianity and Crisis*, 537 West 121st Street, New York 27, N. Y. Bi-weekly. A Protestant journal edited by Reinhold Niebuhr and John C. Bennett; \$3.00 per year.

*Harper's Magazine*, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y. Monthly; \$6.00 per year.

*The Reporter*, 136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y. Bi-weekly; \$6.00 per year.

*United Nations Review*, sold by Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Monthly; \$4.50 per year.

## ORGANIZATIONS

The best guide to organizations in the field of international affairs is *American Agencies Interested in International Affairs*, compiled by Ruth Savord and Donald Wasson, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1955; 289 pp. The three organizations listed below encourage effective political action:

*American Civil Liberties Union*, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Has 20 local chapters.

*Foreign Policy Association*, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Particularly valuable are its *Foreign Policy Bulletin* (discussed under Newsletters) and the *Headline Series* pamphlets, published bi-monthly for an annual subscription of \$2.00. Single issues, 35 cents. Each deals with a major issue in current international affairs, primarily from the perspective of U. S. foreign policy. The Association also works with some 125 local councils on world affairs or cooperating committees.

*League of Women Voters*, 1026—17th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. A non-partisan, educational organization that supplies information on and analyses of issues currently before Congress.

Active participation in one of the two major political parties is the most direct means of influencing the formation of national policy which is open to citizens.



**Christians As Citizens, the Role of the Responsible Christian Citizen in an Era of Crisis;** *Malcolm P. Calhoun, Ed.; John Knox Press, 1957; paper, \$1.25.*

The thesis of this useful, readable book edited by Malcolm P. Calhoun, secretary, Division of Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church, U.S., is that church members act as Christian citizens when they take part in political parties, work in political campaigns, enter governmental service, and engage in the discussion of public issues.

The theological presuppositions of political responsibility are explored in the chapter written by Professor Edward LeRoy Long, Jr., on "The Foundations of Christian Citizenship." He writes wisely about both the dangers of and the necessity for political action. John D. Moseley, executive director of the Texas Legislative Council, points out the dangers of confusing political with Christian positions and offers special guidance for Christians who serve in government. Robert Blakely McNeill, pastor in Columbus, Georgia, outlines a citizen's role in relation to voluntary community organizations.

John H. Marion, executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, is the author of one of the best chapters. This chapter, on race relations, stirs the blood for action.

The final chapter, by Francis Pickens Miller, on "Citizenship as Christian Vocation," assays the costs of campaigning, both financial and moral, in the light of the cross:

The historic faith of the Church teaches us that at the heart of life there is tragedy. We are told to take up our cross daily and follow the Master. And that applies to the political arena as well as to any other area of life. The hour demands the leadership of men who understand something about the meaning of the cross, men who are willing to venture all on a great cause, who are willing to sacrifice, who are willing to follow humbly in their Master's footsteps.

—RAY GIBBONS

**What's Ahead for Civil Service?,** *by David R. Lindsay, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 258, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y., 1957, 28 pp. 25c.*

With 2,400,000 civilian employees, the United States Government is the largest employer in the country. Local, state, and federal government agencies to-

gether employ one out of every ten adults in the labor force.

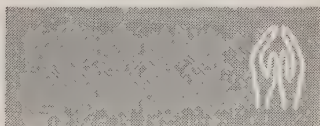
Mr. Lindsay gives a brief outline of the early experience of our government with the spoils system and the reforms that led to the establishment of the Civil Service Commission in 1883.

The pamphlet describes the hiring procedure, job security, the pay scale and opportunities for promotion and training. Mr. Lindsay finds that "the rate at which people leave the federal payroll for other employers is not high; as a whole it is well below the figure for private employment. But at the middle executive level, the quitting rate is too high. For the first five to ten years a professional worker

or young executive spends with the government, he will probably be able to keep up with or even stay ahead of his classmates in private industry." The ceiling of \$16,000 per year for a career service employee means that many of the most able men leave the government when they are at the peak of their productivity.

Mr. Lindsay makes several suggestions for improving the civil service: higher salaries for top executives; a personal rank, somewhat akin to military rank, that would offer greater security when staffs are being reduced; and greater opportunity to move from one government agency to another.

### *resources for worship*



#### **Scripture**

*Amos 5*

*Micah 6*

*Isaiah 1*

*Romans 12*

*Matthew 25:31-46*

#### **Hymns**

Where Cross the Crowded  
Ways of Life

Christian, Rise and Act Thy  
Creed

Draw Thou My Soul, O Christ  
Jesus Shall Reign, Where'er  
the Sun

#### **Issues for consideration**

Politics and its relation to the Christian faith.

The responsibility of the church for a more Christian social order.

The relevance of Amos and his prophetic judgment for our world.

Contemporary political leaders who are motivated by the Christian faith.

Contemporary church leaders who are making a significant

contribution to a more Christian social order.

## References

*The Church in Community Action*, by Harvey Seifert (Abingdon-Cokesbury).

*The Christian Significance of Karl Marx*, by Alexander Miller (Macmillan).

*Preaching in a Revolutionary Age*, by G. Bromley Oxnam (Abingdon-Cokesbury).

*Every Occupation a Christian Calling*, by John Oliver Nelson (Association Press).

## Prayer

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting and whose power infinite, have mercy upon this whole land; and so rule the hearts of thy servants the President of the United States, the Governor of this State, and all others in authority, that they, knowing whose ministers they are, may above all things seek thy honour and glory; and that we and all the People, duly considering whose authority they bear, may faithfully and obediently honour them, according to thy blessed Word and ordinance; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth ever, one God, world without end. Amen.—*The Book of Common Prayer*.

## Observations

The Churches have fundamentally but one task, that of

making known to those men upon whom they have a claim the Church's belief in the Beyond. The earth on which they live is no longer in the least the affair of the Church.

—DR. ALFRED ROSENBERG, Hitler's "Director of Philosophic Outlook," quoted in *Christian Faith and Democracy*, by Gregory Vlastos, p. 44.

The commonest heresy of our times—one not always encountered in the Church—is the claim that religion deals only with spiritual things or with life beyond death, or with saving individual souls. But it is precisely because Christ redeems men's bodies as well as their souls, and saves them through incorporation into the holy society of His Body, that Christianity must have an interest in all the material and the social concerns of human life.

—MASSEY SHEPHERD, in *The Worship of the Church*, page 10.

I am not surprised that most prophets are itinerants. . . . I think the real clue to the tamedness of a preacher is the difficulty one finds in telling unpleasant truths to people whom one has learned to love.

—REINHOLD NIEBUHR, in *Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic*, p. 74.

—JAMES CLARK BROWN, House Reporter for the *Daily Congressional Digest*,



*Many of the decisions to be made by Congress in the coming months will determine the security and well being of us all, now and for generations to come. As citizens of a democracy we have the opportunity to share in determining the course our government takes. As Christians, it is our responsibility to study the issues, to see the bearing of our faith upon them, and to express our judgments to those who represent us.*

*Some issues of particular interest to Christians are listed here. Specific bills are not mentioned because the legislative situation changes from day to day. Congressmen will be glad to send copies of bills, upon request. They will be most grateful for the considered judgment of Christians upon the issues that concern them most deeply.*

—FERN BABCOCK

## DOMESTIC ISSUES BEFORE CONGRESS

### Civil liberties

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Watkins case protects the civil liberties of persons asked to testify before Congressional committees. It holds that "a person is entitled . . . to have knowledge of the subject to which the interrogation is deemed pertinent . . . with the same degree of explicitness and clarity that the Due Process Clause requires in the expression of any element in a crimi-

nal offense." Many changes are still needed in the rules governing Congressional investigations.

The mandate of the House Un-American Activities Committee is now being reviewed to conform to the decision in the Watkins case. Some Congressmen favor making this committee a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee where it would serve as a task force investigating particular issues from time to time.

Current denials of the "right to travel" call for a general review and revision of the laws and policies relating to limitations on the travel of Americans abroad.

### **Civil rights**

Although the Administration would prefer a cooling off period, efforts will be made to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to give protection for civil rights other than voting. The provision which was eliminated in 1957 would have authorized the Department of Justice to ask for federal court injunctions to prevent interference with any civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

### **Development of natural resources**

The need continues for regional development of natural resources: high dams to provide electric power, water for irrigation, and to prevent flooding; reforestation; development of rivers and harbors; and the development of recreation areas. See page 13.

### **Economic life**

Price supports for farm products, control of production, and other agricultural problems call for continued debate.

The rise of unemployment and the threat of economic recession call for careful scrutiny of fiscal policies. It may be necessary for the Federal Government to "prime the pump" by increasing

public works such as road building, housing, and power development.

Investigations by the McClellan Committee of the corrupt practices of labor and management will lead to legislation against racketeering. Pressure will be brought for a federal "right-to-work" law to limit certain membership practices of unions.

### **Education**

"Sputnik" and the emphasis of the U.S.S.R. upon scientific education are leading to a re-evaluation of education in America. Federal aid is needed to equalize educational opportunities for youth; to build adequate classrooms; to employ more well-trained teachers; and to strengthen higher education. Urgent questions are: (1) how to discover and train students of exceptional ability; and (2) how to strengthen education in the humanities as well as in science.

### **Housing**

The need for low-cost housing and for urban renewal far exceed the provisions of present federal programs, which will expire in 1958. Building 35,000 units of low-cost housing per year for two years was authorized in 1956, but cumbersome administrative processes have resulted in the approval of only half that number. Tremendous increase in urban population has

placed too great a burden on state and local governments; yet President Eisenhower has given urban renewal as an example of a federal function that might be turned over to the states.

### **Indian affairs**

In 1953 Congress declared that federal responsibility in Indian affairs should be terminated as soon as possible. This policy has been criticized by Indian organ-

izations. An alternative proposal is that termination should not be imposed upon Indians; and that they should be helped to raise their standard of living, which for many is very low.

### **Statehood**

Bills providing statehood for Alaska and Hawaii were ready for action when the second session of the 85th Congress convened.

## **INTERNATIONAL ISSUES BEFORE CONGRESS**

### **Atomic energy**

The U.S.A. is a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency, but its participation is hampered by a provision, sponsored by Senator Bricker, that any future transfer of atomic materials to the IAEA must be approved separately by Congress. This provision could be removed by amendment of the participation act in the second session of the 85th Congress.

Restrictions on the sharing of atomic information has hampered cooperation with Britain and other allies. President Eisenhower has called for the removal of "legal barriers to the exchange of appropriate technological information with friendly countries."

How harmful is the radioactive fallout from bomb testing? Senator Morse has introduced a bill calling upon the

President to work for unilateral suspension of tests until an international committee of scientists can assess the danger.

### **Mutual security program**

Congress will be asked to continue the authorization for economic assistance and technical cooperation programs at an adequate level; and to separate these programs from those for military assistance.

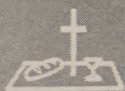
### **Reciprocal trade**

The Administration has asked for a five-year extension of the reciprocal trade agreements; and for the authority for the President to cut tariffs five per cent a year for five years.

### **United Nations**

Continued support is needed for the United Nations and for its Specialized Agencies.

## coming events



- APRIL 15-17** *Washington Seminar, Washington, D. C. Sponsored by the CCSA. Director, Fern Babcock.*
- JUNE 20-22** *Churchmen's Fellowship Conference on the Responsibility of the Churchman as a Citizen, Collegeville, Pa.*
- JUNE 24-30** *General Council of Congregational Christian Churches, Boston, Mass. CSA meeting on Friday evening, the 27th, Vera M. Dean, speaker.*
- JUNE 30-JULY 12** *Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.*
- JUNE 30-AUGUST 11** *European Seminar. Leaders, Rev. and Mrs. Galen R. Weaver.*
- JULY 1-5** *West Coast Christian Social Action Institute, Mill Valley, Calif. Dean, Rev. Huber F. Klemme.*
- JULY 8-12** *Midwest Christian Social Action Institute, Lakeland College, Sheboygan, Wis. Dean, Rev. F. Nelsen Schlegel.*
- JULY 15-19** *Central States Christian Social Action Institute, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. Dean, Rev. Ray Gibbons.*
- JULY 22-26** *Eastern Christian Social Action Institute, Framingham, Mass. Dean, Rev. Myron W. Fowell.*
- AUGUST 8-27** *Mexican Seminar. Leaders, Rev. and Mrs. Huber F. Klemme.*

*For more information write the **Council for Christian Social Action**, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., OR 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio.*

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